

## LOUISIANA.

## The Political Future and the Conduct of Elections.

## THE KING OF LOUISIANA.

## Negro Demagogues Coming to the Front.

## The Only Sure Remedy for Acknowledged Evils.

JACKSON, Miss., May 1, 1875.

One cannot study the politics of Louisiana and her politicians long without becoming aware that the radical leaders are, as political managers, far more skillful and adroit than the conservatives. They understand the generalship of a partisan campaign; and if they only had a little principle or a little of that wisdom which would teach them that misgovernment must have an end, they might even now rule the State for another term of years. Their difficulty is that they have so long used the worst arguments and the most corrupt and corrupting means, that they cannot stop without running a risk of losing their adherents. I believe Governor Kellogg would now like to make his administration honest; but he would also like to go to the senate, and the result is that he will be no more honest than those who control him will let him be. The subalterns, the petty officers of the radical army, are, as a general thing, a very poor set. With here and there an exception they hang on with a tenacity which is almost painful; it is a sort of death grip. A radical member of the legislature whom I asked why he opposed the Wheeler adjustment said, with a pathetic quiver in his voice, "because that is passed it means that I shall go out." I thought he meant that he would be driven out of the State, and I asked him if he really feared violence. He replied, "Not at all, you don't understand me; I mean that I shall have to go out of politics. If the conservatives once get a majority in the House, they'll carry the State at the next election." This man is a member of the legislature; he has enjoyed three or four terms, but he wanted another. To "go out" seemed to him like dying close to common mortals, and his dolorous face was a study. It never occurred to him that the conservative parties had already carried the State, and were, in the adjustment, giving up a part of the majority they had fairly gained.

THE KING OF LOUISIANA.

The strongest, and probably the most dangerous, politician in the State on either side is the United States Marshal, Packard. He is reputed to be a man of unflinching courage, strong will and no scruples. A citizen of Maine he has lived in Louisiana since the war; married here, became very known as a shrewd and successful political organizer, and was made United States Marshal by General Grant. His body is large and somewhat heavy, and his mind does not move rapidly. His main idea is to keep Louisiana in republican hands, and his only method is to make the colored vote. "Packard," said an honest republican to me a day or two ago, "stands in our way in making a split in parties here, which it is so necessary for the welfare of the State to do. He always wants to make the colored vote; he believes in the color line. He discourages every attempt to bring the right kind of white men into our party, and always has something against a new man who would share our political fortunes—that is, he is the rebel army, or something of that kind. I think that Mr. Packard is one of the many such a break and reorganization of parties as would give the State rest and permanent good government."

In Washington last winter Mr. Packard appeared as one of the strenuous advocates of the Ambrose Corps and Force bills, and his argument was that, if this measure was passed, he would guarantee to carry the State for the republican party in 1876, but it was not passed so he would promise nothing. Here in New Orleans he opposed the Wheeler adjustment at first, and very strongly, and it was one of his subterfuges which he used to denounce this adjustment as a good deal of proslavery, and to denationalize the Louisiana vote. "Amid the general denationalization and corruption it is a part of Packard's strength that he is believed to be peculiarly honest. He has a little the air of a fanatic, but he is really an extremely adroit and unscrupulous politician, and they say he wants to go to the senate. He is a politician and tolerates no rival near his throne. I was told of a case where he imagined that a republican was obtaining too much influence in a parish. He sent up to it last year—a steamboat with a brass band and some 'organizers,' and set up a rival republican organization, whose aim was to drive out the republican leaders whom he did not like. It was, as it happened, one of his failures; but it sufficiently shows that he means to rule."

The office of United States Marshal in one of these Southern States gives a man very extraordinary powers; for, so far from Washington, and among a people whose complaints are not much listened to, he is a kind of viceroy. Under the Enforcement acts he may make summary arrests on frivolous pretenses, he may use the army to do it; he is a peace officer with practically no superior, very loosely defined powers and small responsibility, particularly if he is trusted by the President. That you may not think I overstate the authority lodged in Marshal Packard's hands I transcribe here part of a general order to "commanding officers of police and detachments" and issued from "Headquarters, Department of the Gulf":

"Whenever the United States Marshal of the district in which you are serving or any of his deputies shall make written application to you for a detachment of troops to assist him in the execution of his duties or to aid him or them to serve legal process you will at once furnish such detachment, reporting your action to these headquarters."

Now Mr. Packard is not only United States Marshal, for he unites with this office another of even greater importance—he is chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. That is to say, the United States troops in Louisiana are placed by the federal administration under the orders of the chief manager of the republican party. Every United States soldier in the State obeys the orders of the Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. Such a situation, even if it were not absurd, would be likely to excite suspicion, and must give just cause of complaint to the other party. Moreover, it is hardly possible that it should not be misused. For instance—it is in evidence before the Congressional Committee that just before the election of 1874 United States cavalry appeared in several parishes armed with blank warrants of arrest issued in New Orleans by the Marshal. But why should a citizen, innocent of wrong, be alarmed at such things? Well, because it is not a pleasant experience which some of them have had, at Mr. Packard's hands, to be dragged down to New Orleans from a distant county parish, put under lock and then allowed to go home again at their own expense. I have heard from army officers several cases where such an arrest of a man against whom nothing was ever proved or attempted to be proved, caused suffering to his family which was dependent on his daily labor for support, and of other cases where men lay out in the woods or in days, though conscious of innocence, out of a dread of Packard's blank warrants. Moreover, while such warrants were sent abroad just before the election some were sent out after the election, when, if ever, it might be supposed that offences had been committed. In a State where a political struggle of great bitterness and vital importance is going on the chief of one party thus, you see, has authority to command at any time, at any place and for such purpose as he may decide, the actions of the United States army. It is at least

an inconvenience to the other party. No doubt they would like to have the troops too.

THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS.

The supervisors of registration are appointed by the Governor, and are naturally, and in fact, partisans of the party in power. Fraudulent registration has been proved on several occasions; and I have before me a registration certificate now, blank as to name, date and residence, but duly signed by the Supervisor of Assumption parish. The certificate is as follows:—

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.  
STATE OF LOUISIANA.  
PARISH OF ASSUMPTION, ss. I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear, affirm, that I am duly registered as a qualified elector of the parish of \_\_\_\_\_, in the month of \_\_\_\_\_, 1875, that a certificate of such registration was at the time issued to me by the Supervisor of Registration for the said parish, which certificate of registration has been lost or destroyed.

I am \_\_\_\_\_ years of age, my occupation is \_\_\_\_\_, and I now reside at \_\_\_\_\_, I have no other place of residence.

A. D. 1875, before me, \_\_\_\_\_, E. E. GAURE, Supervisor of Registration for the Parish of Assumption.

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in my parish. We have always managed honestly and vigorously protected the blacks in all their rights; but we have given the important places to intelligent and honest whites. Last summer I suddenly found that some colored leaders were quietly getting up an opposition to our management and were determined to turn us out and put in an entire colored set of officeholders. All our white people were uneasy, because an ignorant and corrupt police, jury and sheriff might rule into heavy debt. The blacks would not listen to arguments; but just then came the 14th of September; the news of McClellan's success drew to our parish; it was believed that the federal government would recognize him; the negroes were alarmed; they flocked around me again and were very ready to heed the good counsels of those of us who had been for years, as they knew, their safe guides and advisers, but whom just before they had been quite ready to throw overboard with contempt."

This incident will give you the key to an important part of the situation in Louisiana. The blacks are not wise enough to resist the allurements of their own corrupt leaders. One has great temptations for them; and the strongest radicals have confessed to me that the blacks have no shame about bribery or corruption, no sense of the dignity of office. I speak of them, of course, as a class. There are exceptions. You will see that no taxpayer, no matter of what party, can afford to give up entirely to the colored voters. A division of the white vote, which is the only way to divide the colored vote, is an absolute necessity to all but the political gamblers in Louisiana. It will make the negro sale, but it will exclude him from the important offices of the State. It will, of course, be a great temptation for them; and the strongest radicals have confessed to me that the blacks have no shame about bribery or corruption, no sense of the dignity of office. 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